

Transcript of Reagan's Address to the U.N. General Assembly

Following is a transcript of President Reagan's address to the United Nations General Assembly yesterday, as recorded by The New York Times:

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, distinguished heads of state, ministers, representatives and guests:

First of all, I wish to congratulate President Lusk on his election as President of the General Assembly. With you every success, Mr. President, in carrying out the responsibilities of this high international office. It is an honor to be here, and I thank you for your gracious invitation.

I would speak in support of the two principles that led to the formation of this organization — the cause of peace and the cause of human dignity.

The responsibility of this Assembly, the peaceful resolution of disputes between peoples and nations, has been discharged successfully only if we recognize the great common ground upon which we all stand.

Our fellowship as members of the human race, our oneness as inhabitants of this planet, our place as representatives of billions of people, whose fondest hope remains the end to war and to the repression of the human spirit — these are the universal realities that bind us, that permit us to dream of a future without the antagonisms of the past.

How Much Is Right?

And just as surely as we have seen only there is light, so too can we overcome what is wrong. Only if we remember how much is right, and we will resolve what divides us only if we remember how much we unite us.

This chamber has heard enough about the problems and dangers ahead. Today let us dare to speak of a future that is bright and hopeful and can be ours only if we believe that the future is far nearer than most of us would dare to hope.

At the start of this decade, one score at the Hudson's statue told one that mankind also had undergone enormous changes for the better in the two centuries since the statue was placed. The changes were not all good, but they were not all bad. They were not all new, but they were not all old. They were not all human, but they were not all divine. They were not all good, but they were not all bad. They were not all new, but they were not all old. They were not all human, but they were not all divine.

Up until 200 years ago, there were relatively few people in the world, he wrote. "All human societies were poor, disease and early death were the lot of most people's lives. People were ignorant and largely at the mercy of the forces of nature."

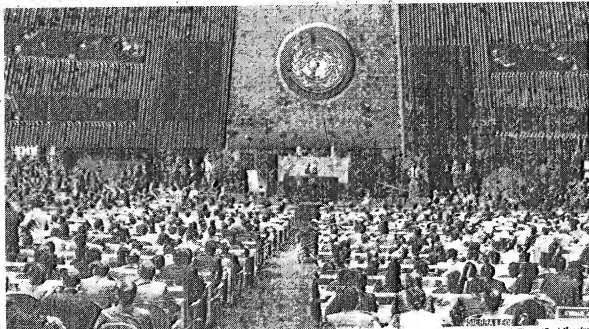
Today, he said, "we are somewhere near the middle of a process of economic development. At the end of that process, almost all the people in the world will be as well off as the people in the richest countries of the past. There will be many more people living in comfort and with increasing knowledge and more to learn than any people have before. They will be able to cope with the forces of nature, and they will be able to cope with each other."

For Peace and Dignity

Well, we do live today as the scholar suggested — in the middle of a process of economic development, one in which all of us can see the promise of a better world. We are attempting to further freedom and peace.

And today I would like to report to you, as distinguished and influential members of the world community, on what the United States has done to help to move the world closer to this goal.

On many fronts enormous progress



Delegates listening yesterday as President Reagan addressed session of the United Nations General Assembly.

has been made. And I think our efforts are complemented by the trend of history. If we look closely enough, we believe we can see all the world moving toward a deeper appreciation of the value of human freedom in both its political and economic manifestations.

This is partially motivated by a widespread desire for economic growth and higher standards of living. And there's an increasing realization that economic freedom is prelude to economic progress and growth and is inextricably and inseparably linked to political freedom.

Everywhere people and governments are beginning to recognize that the secret of a progressive new world is to take advantage of the creativity of the human spirit, to encourage innovation and individual enterprise, to reward hard work and reduce barriers to the free flow of trade and information.

Trade and Freedom

Our opposition to economic restrictions and trade barriers is consistent with our view of economic freedom and human progress. We believe such barriers pose a particularly dangerous threat to the developing nations and their chance to share in world prosperity through expanded export markets.

Tomorrow at the International Monetary Fund, with addresses by President Kennedy and Prime Minister Aneurin Bevan, we will discuss the world's desire for more open trading markets throughout the world.

This desire for more open trading markets and our open advocacy of freedom as the engine of human progress are also the most important ways the United States and the American people hope to assist in bringing about a world where prosperity and peace place, contentment and human dignity and freedom a way of life.

In this place these steps more to place by briefly outlining the major goals of American foreign policy and the American Alliance. And I want to say we're attempting to further freedom and peace.

By that I mean, first, how we have moved to strengthen ties with old allies and new friends. Second, what we're doing to help to resolve the conflicts that could contain the seeds of world conflagration. And third, the status of our efforts with the United Nations to reduce the level of arms.

On many fronts enormous progress

If universality is ignored, if nations are expelled illegally, then the U.N. itself cannot be expected to succeed. The United States welcomes diversity and peaceful competition; we do not fear the trends of history. We are not ideologically rigid. We do have principles and we will stand by them. But we will also seek the friendship and good will of all, both old friends and new.

We've always sought to lend a hand to help others. From our relief efforts

in Europe after World War I to the Marshall Plan and massive foreign assistance programs after World War II.

Since 1946, the United States has provided over \$115 billion in economic aid to developing countries and today provides about one-third of the nearly \$60 billion in financial resources, public and private, that flows to the developing world. And the U.S. imports about one-third of the manufactured exports of the developing world.

And the foundation stone of this effort remains Security Council Resolution 242, which in turn was incorporated in all its parts in the Camp David accords.

The tragedy of Lebanon has not ended. Only last week, a dispatch from Beirut by some who are unfit to associate with humankind reminded us once again that Lebanon continues to suffer from the effects of the 1963 Israeli invasion.

In 1963, we helped Israel and Lebanon reach an agreement that it implemented. It could have led to the full withdrawal of Israeli forces in the context of the withdrawal of all foreign forces. This agreement, however, was not implemented.

Thousands of people are still kept from their homes by continued violence and are refugees in their own country. The once flourishing economy of Lebanon is near collapse. All of Lebanon's friends should work together to help end this nightmare.

In the past, the United States has supported a series of Security Council resolutions that call for an end to the war between Iran and Iraq and put the world's economic well-being at risk.

Our hope is that hostilities will soon end, leaving each side with political and territorial integrity in tact so that they may devote their energies to addressing the needs of their people and a return to relationships with other states.

Lessons of Negotiations

The lesson of experience is that negotiations work. A peace treaty between Israel and Egypt brought about the peaceful return of the Sinai, clearly showing that the negotiating process brings results when the parties commit themselves to it.

The time is bound to come when the same wisdom and courage will be applied with success to reach peace between Arab and all of its Arab neighbors in a manner that assures security for all in the region, the recognition of the right of Israel to a peaceful solution to the Palestinian problem.

In every part of the world, the United States is similarly engaged in peace diplomacy as an active player or a strong supporter. In Southeast Asia, we have been working to bring about a peaceful resolution of the Cambodian problem, which must include the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and the election of a representative government. ASEAN's success in promoting economic and political cooperation has made a major contribution to the peace and stability of the region.

In Afghanistan, the dedicated efforts of the Secretary General and his representatives to find a peaceful settlement have our strong support. I assure you that the United States will continue to do everything possible to find a negotiated outcome which provides the Afghan people with the right to determine their own destiny, along with the Afghan refugees who have fled to their own country and dignity and protects the legitimate security interests of the neighboring countries.

The divided and tense Korean peninsula, we have strongly backed the confidence-building efforts proposed by the Republic of Korea and by the U.N. command at Panmunjom. These are an important step toward peaceful reunification in the long term.

We take heart from progress by the Soviet Union and its allies to reduce barriers between the two German states. And the United States strongly supports the Secretary General's efforts to assist the Cypriot parties in achieving a peaceful and reunited Cyprus.

Two years ago, I proposed a fresh start toward peace in the Middle East. I believe that the Arab-Israeli conflict, my initiative of Sept. 1, 1962, contains a set of positions that can serve as a basis for just and lasting peace. That initiative remains a realistic and workable approach, and I am committed to it as firmly as on the day I announced it.

The Middle East has known more than its share of tragedy and conflict for decades. And the United States has been actively involved in peace diplomacy for just as long.

We consider ourselves a full partner in the quest for peace. The record of the 11 years since the October war shows that much can be achieved at any time toward peaceful reunification of the land is long and hard.

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The United States has been and will always be a friend of peaceful solutions. This is no less true with respect to my country's relations with the Soviet Union.

When I was elected before you last year, I said that we cannot count on the instinct for survival alone to protect us against war. We have learned the hard way that the principle of self-defense is not sufficient. America has repaired its strength. We have invigorated our alliances and friendships. We are ready for constructive

negotiations with the Soviet Union. We recognize that there is no sane alternative to negotiations on arms control and other issues between our two nations, which have the capacity to destroy civilization as we know it.

I believe this is a view shared by virtually every country in the world. The Soviet Union has used and I want to speak to you today on what the United States and the Soviet Union can accomplish together in the spirit to bear.

that we need to take. You know as I stand here and look out from this podium, there in front of me I can see the seat of the representative of the Soviet Union. And not far from that seat, just over to the side, is the seat of the representative of the United States. In this historic assembly hall, it's clear there's not a great distance between us. Outside this room, while there will still be clear differences, there's every reason why we should do all that is possible to shorten that distance. And that's why we're here. Isn't that what this organization is all about?

Last Jan. 18, I set out three objectives for U.S.-Soviet relations that can provide an agenda for our work over the months ahead. First, I said, we need to find ways to reduce and eventually to eliminate the threat and use of force in solving international disputes. Our concern over the potential for nuclear war cannot deflect us from the terrible human tragedies occurring every day in the regional conflicts I just discussed. Together, we have a particular responsibility to contribute to political solutions to these problems rather than to exacerbate them through the provision of even more weapons.

I propose that our two countries agree to hold periodic consultations at policy level on regional problems. We will be prepared, if the Soviets agree, to make senior experts and officials available for regular intervals for in-depth exchanges of views. I've asked Secretary State to explore this with Foreign Minister Gromyko.

Spheres of influence are a thing of the past. Differences between American and Soviet interests are not. The objectives of this political dialogue will be to help avoid miscalculation, reduce the potential risk of U.S.-Soviet confrontation and help the people in areas of conflict to find peaceful solutions.

The United States and the Soviet Union have achieved agreements of historic importance on some regional problems. The 1957 state treaty and the Berlin accords are notable and lasting examples.

Let us resolve to achieve similar agreements in the future.

Our second task must be to find ways to reduce the vast stockpiles of armaments in the world. We have agreed to limit the number of nuclear warheads in our arsenals and to limit the number of nuclear warheads in the arsenals of our allies.

I am committed to rebuilding our negotiating efforts to achieve real results. In Geneva, a complete ban on nuclear weapons in Europe, in Vienna, real reductions to lower and equal levels in Soviet and American, Warsaw Pact and NATO conventional forces, concrete practical measures to enhance mutual confidence, to reduce the risk of war and to relate to the arms race, and to the arms race.

In the field of nuclear testing, important agreements have been reached to insure compliance with the threshold test ban of peaceful nuclear explosions agreed to by the United States and the Soviet Union.

And in the field of nonproliferation, important steps have been taken to strengthen the international instruments and practices aimed at halting the spread of nuclear weapons together with reduced efforts to meet the legitimate needs of peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

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will substantially reduce their own nuclear arsenals. We and the Soviets have agreed to upgrade our hotline communications facility. And our discussions of nuclear nonproliferation in recent years have been useful to both sides. We think there are other possibilities for improving communications in this area that deserve serious exploration.

Proposal for Vienna Talks

I believe the proposal of the Soviet Union for opening U.S.-Soviet talks in Vienna provided an important opportunity to advance these objectives. We've been prepared to discuss a wide range of issues of concern to both sides, such as the relationship between defensive and offensive forces and what has been called the militarization of space.

During the talks, we would consider what measures of restraint both sides might take while negotiations proceeded. However, any agreement must be logically dependent upon our ability to get the competition in offensive arms under control and to achieve genuine stability at substantially lower levels of nuclear arms.

Our approach in all these areas will be designed to take into account the concerns of the Soviet Union and the United States. We will attempt to provide a basis for an historic breakthrough in arms control.

I'm disappointed that we were not able to open our meeting in Vienna earlier this month on the date originally proposed by the Soviet Union. I hope we can begin these talks by the end of the year or shortly thereafter.

Progress on Cooperation

The third task I set in January was to establish a better working relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States. One marked by greater cooperation and understanding.

We've made some modest progress. We have reached agreements to improve our hotline, extend our 10-year economic agreement, enhance our cooperation and explore coordination of search and rescue efforts at sea. We've also offered to increase significantly the amount of U.S. grain shipments to the Soviet Union and to provide the Soviets a direct fishing allocation off U.S. coasts.

But there's much more we could do. I am committed to rebuilding our negotiating efforts to achieve real results. In Geneva, a complete ban on nuclear weapons in Europe, in Vienna, real reductions to lower and equal levels in Soviet and American, Warsaw Pact and NATO conventional forces, concrete practical measures to enhance mutual confidence, to reduce the risk of war and to relate to the arms race, and to the arms race.

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Objectives of U.S. Policy

Let me begin with a word about the objectives of American foreign policy, which have been constant since the formation of the United Nations and were incorporated into the U.N. Charter.

The U.N. Charter states two overriding goals: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in the basic rights of the human person, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small."

The founders of the United Nations understood full well the relationship between these two goals. And I want you to know that the Government of the United States will continue to view this concern for human rights as the moral center of our foreign policy.

We can never look at anyone's freedom as a bargaining chip in world politics.

Our hope is for a time when all the people of the world can enjoy the blessings of personal liberty. But I would like also to emphasize that our concern for protecting human rights is part of our concern for protecting the peace.

Link of Rights and Peace

The answer is for all nations to fulfill the obligations they freely assumed under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It states: "The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections."

The declaration also includes these rights: "to form and to join trade unions," "to own property alone as well as in association with others," "to leave any country including his own and to return to his country" and to enjoy "freedom of opinion and expression."

Perhaps the most graphic example of the relationship between human rights and peace is the right of peace groups to exist and to promote their views. In fact, the treatment of peace groups is a litmus test of government's true desire for peace.

In addition to emphasizing this tie between the advocacy of human rights and the prevention of war, the United States has taken important steps, as I mentioned earlier, to prevent world conflict.

The starting point and cornerstone of our foreign policy is our alliance

and partnership with our fellow democracies. For 35 years the North Atlantic Alliance has guaranteed the peace in